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I Gusti Putu Jelantik's Babad Buleleng Placed within Historical Context

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Notes

Often defined as 'historical chronicles' or 'dynastic genealogies,' the Balinese texts known as babad continue to challenge Western scholars seeking to define and understand them. The earliest Dutch scholars concentrated on debating the historical accuracy of the texts: H. J. de Graaf searched for 'reliable facts' while C. C. Berg claimed that they contained magic formulas and esoteric meaning.[1] More recently, Peter Worsley and M. C. Ricklefs have asserted that babad are literary creations generally lacking historical value,[2] while Henk Schulte Nordholt sees them as political documents crucial to group identity and position.[3] Raechelle Rubinstein has examined the religious prescriptions contained within the Babad Brahmana, and both Helen Creese and Heidi Hinzler suggest that today the main function of babad comes in the veneration of ancestors.[4]

From such differing interpretations, it should be clear that Balinese babad are complex and varied texts that elude easy definition and transcend distinct categories of history, literature, and religion. More recently, scholars have recognized that to understand babad, we need to investigate the 'local logic' behind them and the ways they are used by the Balinese. As Schulte Nordholt argues, "babad do nothing unless they are put into action" -- they gain their meaning not as written manuscripts but through their employment, whether chanted aloud at temple festivals, read and analyzed at family gatherings, or excerpted and dramatized in the theatre of Topeng dance-drama.[5] In this paper, I examine the political nature of babad and, in particular,

the circumstances that prompted the 1920 composition of Babad Buleleng. My study is prompted by Schulte Nordholt's work in situating this early-twentieth century babad within its specific historical and political context. Yet while Schulte Nordholt stresses that babad changed under Dutch colonial rule, I will argue that Babad Buleleng represents not a break from but a continuation of the babad tradition. While Babad Buleleng found new uses under the Dutch, it retained the basic idiom of babad and appears to have been employed along traditional lines, extending beyond politics to address Balinese religious and societal concerns, as well. As a continuation of the tradition, Babad Buleleng provides insight into earlier uses of babad and Balinese perceptions of the history. There are clearly dangers in extrapolating about the past based on more recent information, yet because so little evidence remains from Bali's earlier centuries, we need to be creative in reconstructing that past, and in this regard, Babad Buleleng can offer some clues.

Babad Buleleng as a Literary Work

When Peter Worsley conducted his 1972 translation of Babad Buleleng, he demonstrated that literary conventions had played a key role in shaping this babad. Rather than simply documenting historical events, for example, the author of Babad Buleleng took pains to portray the kings of Buleleng in the classical image of kingship found in the Indian epics Ramayana and Mahabharata. In addition, the babad was written in the exacting Javanese verse form of kakawin, which employs a mix of Old and Middle Javanese languages and follows a strict poetic meter. Worsley's analysis provided a new perspective on babad, revealing that literary conventions could be as important as the information contained within a babad text, and he was praised for considering Babad Buleleng in its entirety, rather than merely probing it for 'reliable facts.' A. Teeuw writes that Worsley demonstrated, wrote A. Teeuw how "[all] elements belong to the structure of a historical text, and that we will have to understand them in their proper function and . . . interdependence." [6] Yet if Worsley championed the literary unity of the babad, he downplayed its historical qualities, going so far as to claim that babad were written "within the context of a culture, the Weltanschauung of which is essentially ahistorical." [7] While such an assertion seems ill-informed, any number of scholars have espoused the belief that the Balinese are "without history," prompting a forceful rebuttal by Mark Hobart:

The denial of a sense of history to Balinese, the lack of inquiry into how the past is used. . . go hand-in-hand not with Balinese detemporalization of person, time and conduct, but with [the detemporalization] of Bali in a magnificent displacement worthy of the finest moments of Orientalism. [8]

In fact, the Balinese are as concerned with representations of their past as any people; they themselves characterize babad as records of the past. Though Worsley contributed to our understanding of the literary aspects of babad, he was still struggling to fit these texts into the narrow confines of Western categorization. Yet as Creese points out, in Balinese writing it is fruitless to seek to separate 'history' from 'literature' since no such genre distinctions are made. [9]

Babad Buleleng Placed within Context

Since the time of Worsley's translation, scholars have become increasingly aware that babad need to be understood within their societal context, particularly because these texts derive their meaning from their use--as vehicles for ancestral commemoration and group study or, as in the case of Babad Buleleng, as tools for political negotiation. In his study, Schulte Nordholt discovered that this particular text was written in 1920 to appeal for the appointment of I Gusti Putu Jelantik as ruler of Buleleng regency. This petition came at a time when Bali's Dutch colonial administration was moving to reinstate the island's traditional kingdoms and rulers, but Jelantik was only one of three candidates in Buleleng and he was not favored by the Balinese. Yet it was in part Jelantik's ability to create enough "traditional credibility" through his babad that won him the appointment. By disregarding the historical circumstances of Babad Buleleng in his 1972 translation, Worsley overlooked crucial aspects that influenced its form. "Babad were not written in order to be studied in Western libraries by literary experts," writes Schulte Nordholt. Rather, they are "embedded in a social and political world and should be read--as far as possible--within that context." [10] What Schulte Nordholt suggests about the political functions of Babad Buleleng should help inform our understanding of how the Balinese used these texts in the past and how they continue to employ them today.

Babad in Traditional Politics

In many ways, Jelantik's presentation of Babad Buleleng to the Dutch is consistent with traditional Balinese uses of babad to legitimize rule. The three earliest texts, Babad Dalem, Usana Bali, and Usana Jawi, all establish the lineage of particular Balinese royal families, tracing their origins to the warriors of Java's Majapahit dynasty who conquered Bali in the fourteenth century. The opening sections of these texts focus on the beginnings of civilization and religion on the island, while later sections are more heavily genealogical in nature. These earliest texts appear to have been produced at the beginning of the eighteenth century, following the shift in political power from the once dominant Gelgel dynasty to the newly-emerging Klungkung kingdom in approximately C.E. 1687. [11]

Because these texts all reflect back on the fourteenth century from a remove of some four hundred years, their historical reliability has been questioned; Creese suggests, for example, that the accounts reveal less about actual historical events and more about eighteenth-century Balinese historiographical concerns. [12] Indeed, the portrait of Gelgel's unassailed hegemony from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century as presented in Klungkung's official court document, Babad Dalem, most likely represents an imagined past glory rather than an approximation of reality. Yet if this glory was imagined, it was also projected and realized through Babad Dalem. The text helped establish Klungkung as the heir to both Gelgel and Majapahit and helped secure for Klungkung the position as the pre-eminent kingdom in Bali. Despite the emergence of competing court centers during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Klungkung's small kingdom managed to dominate until its final conquest by the Dutch in 1908. This was due largely to the general acceptance of Babad Dalem's portrayal of Klungkung as a most direct descendant of the ancient sacred center of power, Majapahit.

As other courts struggled to legitimize their rule, they, too, sought origins in Majapahit, most often by claiming a hereditary connection through Klungkung and Gelgel and by composing babad that incorporated passages from Klungkung's Babad Dalem. Kingdoms like Badung and Tabanan that could not establish a link with Klungkung turned instead to the competing claims of Usana Bali and Usana Jawi. Yet into each new babad some portion of one of these three charter texts was integrated, the older texts serving to legitimate newer claims. Worsley notes, for example, that Babad Buleleng appears to pull passages from the older Babad Blahbatuh as well as the Kidung Pamancangah, a poetical version of the Babad Dalem.[13] Just as textual quotation was crucial, so did an idiom of style develop within the babad tradition, tied to Balinese religious and social traditions. Hinzler notes, for example, that the number seven is significant within the babad system, so that texts may list only this many generations, omitting any mention of less consequential ancestors, or condensing into one two generations or more. [14] Other requisite elements within babad, such as the descriptions of a kingdom's keris and priests, helped establish heritage and further legitimized a kingdom's rule. While the emergence of competing kingdoms in the mid-eighteenth century seems to have prompted the first composition of court babad, further shifts in political order at the end of the nineteenth century witnessed a new surge of babad writing. The increasing Dutch control of Bali introduced additional threats to the already warring kingdoms, many of which responded by asserting status through the writing of new babad and the re-composition of older ones.

During the pre-colonial period, babad played an important role in asserting the political claims of a kingdom. The possession of a royal collection of texts strengthened the status of a court, and during the eighteenth century, the Balinese kingdoms became centers of tremendous literary activity. But to interpret babad merely in terms of politics would be to assign too narrow a role for them. As heirlooms or pusaka, babad embodied the authority of a kingdom; as connections to the past, they were imbued with the spirit of the ancestors; and as written manuscripts, they contained the sacred power of Saraswati, goddess of arts and literature. As such, babad were and are revered, and along with other items of court regalia, they are housed within the ancestral shrines of temples. Just as no distinction is made between literature and history or fact and fiction, in Bali politics and religion are one; ancestral power enhances political position. Or as Schulte Nordholt comments, "temple and text belong to one another." [15]

It is out of this tradition that the Babad Buleleng emerges. Babad Buleleng ostensibly represents a shift in the babad tradition because it was employed for purposes outside the traditional Balinese kingship system and because it did not reaffirm position but rather petitioned for it. Yet as we will see, in Babad Buleleng the traditional and the new are not so easily separated.

The Reinstatement of Balinese Royal Courts[16]

Several circumstances led to the 1929 installment of Balinese royalty as volkshoofd, or 'native chiefs,' and the designation of the old kingdoms as 'negara.' Not the least of these was a devastating earthquake in 1917, an influenza that killed twenty-two thousand, and an atmosphere of unrest that necessitated more effective local administration of the island. Yet

according to Geoffrey Robinson, the move to elevate the status of royalty --which continued in 1930 with the reinstatement of royal titles and culminated in 1938 with the establishment of 'self rule'--was strongly motivated by the Dutch desire to protect Bali against the threats of modernization, Islam, and nationalism. It was felt that this policy of maintaining 'traditional Bali' could be aided by resurrecting the ancient symbols and structures of Bali's Hindu royal system. The Dutch government had long pursued an official policy of championing the 'native' Balinese villages over the perceived 'foreign' royal courts.[17] From the time of the first conquest of Buleleng in 1855 until the 1908 surrender of Klungkung, the kingdoms had been systematically dismantled and their power invalidated, with members of royalty sent into exile and their land and property confiscated. Yet the Dutch also demonstrated a preference for the high-born, and though stripped of their traditional roles, many royalty found employment as *punggawa*, from which position they were able to ingratiate and influence their colonial overlords. Nor were the *punggawa* unaware in their negotiations with the Dutch. In appealing for self-rule, for example, the Cokorda Gde Raka Sukawati skillfully mimicked both the language and the fears of the colonial authorities:

Luckily Bali has not yet been contaminated by the evil of provocation that results from the excessive influence and examples of other regions If the government introduced self-rule in each of the *negara*, then in our opinion, such evil influences will have more difficulty in reaching Bali.[18]

Colonial Negotiator: I Gusti Putu Jelantik

I Gusti Putu Jelantik appears to have been especially skillful with the Dutch, and according to Schulte Nordholt, he was mistrusted by other Balinese for his collaboration with the colonial government. In the capacity of translator, Jelantik accompanied the Dutch military campaigns against Badung, Tabanan, and Klungkung, helping to confiscate the holdings of the royal libraries.[19] Having gained access to the manuscripts from these royal courts as well as those of Mataram and Cakranagara on Lombok, Jelantik apparently accumulated for himself an enormous private collection of texts. Jelantik was a well-known connoisseur of literature, especially *kakawin* romances. During his life-time he composed texts and commissioned reproductions, notably on the adventures of Mahabharata's warrior-prince Arjuna.[20] He helped establish the Dutch manuscript library Kirtya Lieftrinck-Van der Tuuk in Singaraja and served as its first curator. In addition, Jelantik was one of the first Balinese to offer manuscripts to be copied and catalogued for the Kirtya. Yet given Jelantik's political aspirations, his appropriation of other courts' texts could not have been an innocent gesture. Margaret Wiener writes that in Klungkung today, local rumor attributes Jelantik with the theft of the Klungkung royal *babad* since no copies have been found in the official Dutch collection, despite the presence of several *babad* from commoner groups.[21] If the possession a manuscript collection was integral to legitimizing a court's authority, then the absence of key texts would have had the opposite effect. Thus while Jelantik could not have gained any "real" power under the Dutch through his appropriation of other *negara*'s texts, in traditional terms, his actions carried weight -- and the *babad* of Bali's pre-eminent court would have been of particular interest to him. However, it is possible to read too much into Jelantik's calculation because he may have

considered it his right to take possession of the court babad, especially as the Dutch philologists showed little interest in them. R. H. Friederich typifies the Dutch attitude in dismissing the Babad Dalem as "sundry confused histories of priests and kings" and judging it to be a "far inferior" record of the past.[22] By contrast, Jelantik recognized the importance of Balinese texts and worked to preserve the island's literary heritage.

Babad Buleleng as a Political Tool

Jelantik's Babad Buleleng reveals its orientation toward the Dutch audience through a number of interesting elements. As might be expected, the babad carefully establishes direct lines of descent from Buleleng's original ancestor. According to Schulte Nordholt, most of these 'colonial babad' were written in this manner, articulating direct and unbroken lines of descent, whereas earlier babad are not as rigorous in this regard. Jelantik's babad also emphasizes the earlier glory of Buleleng. Several decades of direct rule by the Dutch and almost a century of political control had significantly weakened Buleleng's royal center through "deaths, exile, and the confiscation of property." [23] Yet rather than focus on the current diminished state of the kingdom, Babad Buleleng celebrates its past, primarily through its apical ancestor, Panji Sakti, whose story takes up more than half of the entire text. Not only does Panji Sakti descend from Java's Majapahit dynasty through two separate lines of descent, he is also favored by the gods, and his governance is peaceful, harmonious, and prosperous. Only when the Karangasem rulers seize power a few generations after Panji Sakti's death does the image change: the usurping kings are greedy, incestuous and brutal, forcing original family members into exile.

In composing this portrait of a 'glorious past,' Jelantik may well have been influenced by the Dutch discovery of the Nagarakrtagama and the ensuing excitement over this recovered ancient history of Java. As translator and curator of the Kirtya, he may even have aided J. L. Brandes's translation of the text in 1902. In any case, Jelantik would have witnessed the Dutch fascination with classical Javanese literature and the increasing support for 'traditional Bali' through the policies of 'Balinization.' He seems to have crafted his babad with these interests in mind, portraying Panji Sakti's Buleleng as a classical negara, one in which the king "dwelt contentedly in the palace . . . his descendants growing in number and his children multiplying.." [24] Much has also been made of Babad Buleleng's use of verse, which marks a departure from the babad tradition of prose composition. The exacting kakawin versification in Babad Buleleng and its eloquent use of Old and Middle Javanese recalls older traditions of Javanese literature. Babad Buleleng also employs self-conscious literary motifs from the Mahabharata and Ramayana and is characterized by the skillful interweaving of classical images. Surely such a text would not have failed to impress the colonial administration and convince them of Buleleng's--and Jelantik's--heritage.

Another notable aspect of Babad Buleleng is the flattering portrayal of the Dutch. None of their earlier hostilities against Buleleng is mentioned and unlike the graphic descriptions of battles with other kingdoms, the prolonged war against the Dutch is presented summarily: "a quarrel developed which led to war. A terrible and heated battle took place. . . . The war lasted three years." [25] Following this section, the babad praises the colonial government for "doing its best"

in 1849 to locate the descendants of Panji Sakti to replace the usurping Karangasem rulers. And instead of contending the royal appointment of 1849, which overlooked Jelantik's family line, the text cleverly acknowledges the Dutch for "doing what was right and proper." Yet it also reveals the failing of these rulers from Sukasada. One king is portrayed as a dissipate gambler who eventually abdicates, while another is "punished and exiled" by the Dutch who "desired to protect the world." [26] Such passages underscore the consequences of choosing the wrong descent line.

Any number of minor elements in Babad Buleleng also seem to have been crafted for the benefit of its colonial audience. In an early episode of Panji Sakti's life, the ancestor-hero saves a stranded ship of a merchant and wins from him the entire contents of the vessel. Worsley remarks that this episode serves a legitimizing function because the cargo contains materials "required to build and furnish a palace fit to be dwelt in by the ruler." [27] Yet given the tension that had developed between the Dutch and Balinese in the mid-nineteenth century over the plundering of stranded ships (tawang karang, a common Balinese practice [28]), Jelantik may have composed this scene with particular delicacy. As related in Babad Buleleng, Panji Sakti only intercedes after the merchant has beseeched him and twice promised the contents of his ship. Nor does Panji use everyday tools of "ropes, bamboo, and all the equipment necessary," as do the 'greedy' people who first attempt the salvage; instead, Panji points his magical keris at the ship and it does the work for him. If the Dutch believed that I Gusti Putu Jelantik was merely submitting a 'traditional text,' they underestimated his artful strategies in asserting his claim to the throne.

Deprived of their ability to wage war under the powerful rule of their Dutch overlords, the Balinese princes fought their battles by turning instead to the power of words.

While we do not know about the circumstances under which Babad Buleleng was presented to the Dutch, Schulte Nordholt has investigated a similar petition made by the ruler of Mengwi with the submission of Babad Mengwi. In arguing for Mengwi's reinstatement as a negara, this text was sent to local Dutch officials as well as to the Dutch parliament and Queen Wilhelmina in Holland. The manuscript was accompanied by a Malay translation, a separate genealogical summary, and a signed petition. [29] Babad Buleleng seems to have been submitted in similar fashion: one of the manuscripts consulted by Worsley, which is now housed in Leiden, also includes both a Malay translation and a genealogical chart, presenting the material in a manner that would be meaningful to the Dutch. This 'Manuscript D' also omits the final section of the babad that relates both the exile of the last king and the abandonment of Hinduism by some members of the extended descent group; through these omissions, a more positive portrait emerges of Buleleng. [30] We do not know how much weight Babad Buleleng carried in persuading the government in Jelantik's favor, whether his was a largely ceremonial gesture or whether it truly carried political clout. Further investigation into the historical circumstances would certainly enrich our understanding of the babad and its employment. Yet while the details are lacking, we do know that Jelantik's petition was persuasive enough to win his appointment as ruler of Buleleng.

Babad Buleleng as a Traditional Tool of Legitimacy

Although Jelantik's babad succeeded with the Dutch, his version of Buleleng's history is not uncontested. When Schulte Nordholt interviewed a competing branch of descendants in Sukasada village in the 1980s, the head of the clan dismissed Jelantik's babad with disdain. While he displayed Sukasada's babad, he refused to allow it to be copied.[31] This reaction gives some indication of the continuing importance of these texts and reveals as well that Jelantik would not have written his babad solely for a Dutch audience.

If Jelantik did in fact compose his text as early as 1920 and only submitted it to the authorities in 1928, then he may have first written it with the Balinese in mind. In fact, the babad was only part of Jelantik's traditional campaign for legitimacy. He also sought access at the main temple in the village of Panji and in 1920 built a new temple within his palace grounds.[32] In Mengwi, too, the 1928 composition of Babad Buleleng was accompanied by the resurrection of a new court temple and a story was circulated about the ancient origins of both the temple and babad. [33] Because the Dutch ignored religious activity, they overlooked the political intent behind such maneuvers, but for the Balinese, politics and religion are not separate. Temple and text are part of a single effort in establishing position.

Babad Buleleng has been viewed by scholars as an atypical babad, yet its variations do not depart radically from the babad tradition; instead they are within keeping of the changing nature of this genre. Not only Babad Buleleng but also Babad Buleleng and Babad Blahbatuh were written in verse. The poetry of Babad Buleleng may have impressed the colonial authorities, but it may also reflect the literary trends of the period. For example, different kind of versified history, the geguritan, had gained popularity in the late nineteenth century amongst non-royal groups, and, like other emerging forms, it may have set a literary challenge for the babad. The literary activity in the courts also would have raised the standards for composing babad, especially for a text scholar like Jelantik. When Schulte Nordholt showed a copy of Babad Buleleng Sedang to the competing branch line in Mengwi--possessors of the more literary Babad Buleleng--they dismissed it not only for its 'false version of history' but for its awkward presentation: "It is an ugly text; it is poorly composed. You can take it with you; no one will be interested." [34] In writing Babad Buleleng, Jelantik may have interwoven motifs from literary classics, but he also followed the tradition of quoting earlier babad, notably the Babad Blahbatuh, and Pamancangah or Babad Dalem. Rather than setting his text apart from earlier ones, Jelantik's innovations reflect the changing nature of the babad tradition.

Elements with Babad Buleleng would have clearly appealed to the Balinese. Not only is the ancestor-hero Panji Sakti endowed with divine power, first revealed through his flaming fontanel, but he is favored by the gods, who visit him directly and bestow upon him the powerful keris Ki Semang. Panji Sakti acquires all the accouterments required of the founder of a kingdom, as well, from a state gamelan to the ship's cargo, and, most significantly, a priest who descends from Majapahit. Worsley notes that the most extensive episodes in the babad concern Panji's priests, "not so much in their own right, but as attributes of Panji Sakti's kingship." [35] Dutch readers of the babad surely would not have not recognized the significance of such details,

but for a Balinese audience, these episodes would have contributed to the persuasive quality of the text.

Today Babad Buleleng is housed within an ancestral shrine and is consulted when issues of descent arise. As the charter text of the descent groups of Panji Sakti, and as an important link to the ancestors, the manuscript possesses significant spiritual power. Like other royal babad, its significance has extended beyond Buleleng's royal house to include commoners connected to the family line. When Babad Buleleng is read, both the manuscript and the readers must undergo ritual cleansing. And as is the case for all babad, readings of this text are not individual, silent acts but group presentations set within religious ceremonies and family gatherings.

Babad Buleleng may have been used to negotiate with the Dutch government, but this use did not effect a lasting change in the babad tradition; nor was that use the only one made of the text. Jelantik also employed Babad Buleleng along traditional lines, joining it to the ancestral temple and using it to articulate the legitimacy of his rule. Thus, the more important audience for this text may have been the Balinese one, and because Babad Buleleng continues to be employed and revered within the Balinese context, it would seem that Jelantik succeeded with his text. While the circumstances surrounding Babad Buleleng inform us specifically about this particular text, the example of Babad Buleleng should help us build upon our understanding of babad in general and the role they have played in past centuries. While the discussion in this paper has focused primarily upon the political role of Babad Buleleng, there is much more to be known about these texts, their presentation, and their reception by Balinese audiences. To continue developing our understanding, we need to study babad within the context of their social and historical situations.

Notes

1 See H. J. de Graaf, "Later Javanese Sources and Historiography" and C. C. Berg, "The Javanese Picture of the Past" in *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, Ed. Sudjatmoko, et. al. (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1965), 87-117; 119-36.

2 While Ricklefs did write that some babad "appear to be so mythological and devoid of chronological order that they are of little value as sources of political history, despite their literary interest," he adds that "others have proved to be valuable historical sources." The latter part of his statement is often neglected by those quoting it. M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia Since C. 1300*, 2nd Ed. (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1981), 55.

3 H. Schulte Nordholt, "Origin, Descent, and Destruction: Text and Context in Balinese Representations of the Past," *Indonesia* 54 (1991): 27-58.

4 Helen Creese, "Balinese Babad as Historical Sources: A Reinterpretation of the Fall of Gelgel,"

Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 147 Nos. 2-3 (1990): 243; Raechelle Rubinstein, "The Brahmana According to Their Babad," in *State and Society in Bali: Historical, Textual and Anthropological Approaches*, Ed. Hildred Geertz (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1991), 43-84; H.I.R. Hinzler, "The Balinese Babad," in *Profiles of Malay Culture; Historiography, Religion, and Politics*, Ed. Sartono Kartodirdjo (Yogyakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, Directorate General of Culture, 1976), 47.

5 Schulte Nordholt 28.

6 A. Teeuw, "Some Remarks on the Study of So-Called Historical Texts in Indonesian Languages," in *Profiles of Malay Culture; Historiography, Religion, and Politics*, Ed. Sartono Kartodirdjo (Yogyakarta: Ministry of Education and Culture, 1976), 16.

7 P. J. Worsley, *Babad Buleleng; A Balinese Dynastic Genealogy* (The Hague: Nijhoff. KITLV, Bibliotheca Indonesica 8, 1972), vi.

8 Mark Hobart, "The Missing Subject: Balinese Time and the Elimination of History," *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, 31, No. 1 (June 1997): 153.

9 Creese, "Balinese Babad as Historical Sources," 239.

10 Schulte Nordholt, "Origin, Descent, and Destruction," 33, 57.

11 Helen Creese, "New Kingdoms, Old Concerns: Balinese Identities in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *The Last Stand of Asian Autonomies: Responses to Modernity in the Diverse States of Southeast Asia and Korea, 1750-1900*, Ed. Anthony Reid (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1997), 353.

12 Helen Creese, *In Search of Majapahit: The Transformation of Balinese Identities*, (Clayton, Vic. Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1997), 9.

13 See Worsley's comments 15-20.

14 Hinzler, "The Balinese Babad," 49. By contrast, Babad Mengwi seems to have added a "first king," ascribing to him the deeds of his "son," the historical figure recognized by other sources. Schulte Nordholt speculates that the writer of the babad may have done this to create a heroic first ancestor to precede the "son." *The Spell of Power: A History of Balinese Politics, 1650-1940* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1996), 27.

15 Schulte Nordholt, "Origin, Descent, and Destruction," 29.

16 Information from this section comes from Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 19-51 and H. Schulte

- Nordholt, "Bali: Colonial Conceptions and Political Change, 1700-1940: from Shifting Hierarchies to 'Fixed Order,'" *Comparative Asian Studies Programme* 15 (Rotterdam, 1986) 34-49.
- 17 Such views were influenced by the writing of W. R. van Hoeffel and R. H. Th. Friederich. See Schulte Nordholt, *The Spell of Power*, 231.
- 18 "Verzoekscrift" (n.d.), Mailrapport 655 geh/1935 (Verball 15 July 1938, no. 14), Box 3779, MvK, ARA quoted in Robinson 43. Nor did the Cokorda misread the Dutch concern: although only three of the volkshoofd signed this 1935 petition, the Dutch Resident added to it the names of all the other rulers. Schulte Nordholt 35.
- 19 H.I.R. Hinzler, "Balinese Palm-Leaf Manuscripts," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 149 (1993): 433.
- 20 Jelantik's selection of literary texts is significant as the royalty used such works to create parallels between the legendary heroes and themselves. Creese, "The Dating of Several Kakawin from Bali and Lombok," *Archipel* 52 (1996): 169.
- 21 Margaret J. Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms: Power, Magic, and Colonial Conquest in Bali* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 99.
- 22 Quoted in Creese, *In Search of Majapahit*, 7.
- 23 Robinson 45.
- 24 Worsley 173.
- 25 Worsley 199.
- 26 Worsley 205.
- 27 Worsley 25.
- 28 Schulte Nordholt, *The Spell of Power*, 160.
- 29 Schulte Nordholt, "Origin, Descent, and Destruction," 55.
- 30 Worsley 119-120; 107-108.
- 31 Schulte Nordholt, "Origin, Descent, and Destruction," 56.

32 Schulte Nordholt, "Origin, Descent, and Destruction," 56.

33 Schulte Nordholt comments that today this tale is accepted as a "true myth" and is repeated even by those who remember the construction of the temple in 1928. *Spell of Power*, 276.

34 Schulte Nordholt, "Origin, Descent, and Destruction," 54.

35 Worsley 32.